

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 LONDON 01031 01 OF 02 191831Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----062459 191832Z /53

O P 191816Z JAN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2206  
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 01031

EXDIS

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK  
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: MEETING WITH GRAHAM

1. SEITZ AND LOW MET WITH JOHNNY GRAHAM JANUARY 19  
SHORTLY AFTER LEARNING THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT HAD  
ACCEPTED OWEN'S INVITATION AND WOULD MEET WITH US  
IN MALTA NEXT WEEK. GRAHAM SAID THAT OWEN, BECAUSE  
OF OTHER COMMITMENTS, WAS NOW INCLINED TO SEEK A  
POSTPONEMENT TO JANUARY 30 IF IT MADE NO DIFFERENCE  
TO THE PF. WE SAID WE THOUGHT IT WAS PREFERABLE TO  
ACCEPT THE DATE SINCE THE PF HAD ACCEPTED OUR VENUE  
AND HAD ALREADY ANNOUNCED BOTH PUBLICLY BUT AGREED  
IF OWEN FELT VERY STRONGLY AND INDICATED WILLINGNESS  
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TO RETURN TO THE 26TH IF THE 30TH WAS NOT POSSIBLE FOR  
THE PF. BY COINCIDENCE LOW LATER BUMPED INTO OWEN  
AT A STORE IN LONDON. HE STILL SEEMED TO BE WAVER-  
ING BETWEEN ALTERNATIVES. LOW ENCOURAGED HIM TO ACCEPT  
THE 26TH.

2. WE THEN REVIEWED WITH GRAHAM THE DECISIONS

DURING THE EARLIER OWEN-MOOSE DISCUSSIONS ON STEPS TO BE TAKEN IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE PF MEETING AND ON PAPERS TO BE PREPARED. GRAHAM TOLD US THAT SINCE SEEING MOOSE, OWEN HAD DECIDED TO AGREE TO THE RHODESIAN REQUEST TO PASS A MESSAGE TO NKOMO THAT THE RHODESIANS WANTED TO MEET WITH HIM BUT WITHOUT ENCOURAGING HIM TO ACCEPT. WE SAID WE THOUGHT THIS MOST UNFORTUNATE. IT COULD CONFUSE THE MESSAGE WE WERE TRYING TO SAVE NKOMO. GRAHAM DEFENDED THE DECISION BY SAYING WE HAD NOT RAISED STRONG OBJECTIONS DURING OUR EARLIER MEETINGS. WE REITERATED THAT SUCH A MESSAGE THROUGH THE BRITISH COINCIDING WITH THE DECISION ON MALTA WOULD BE BOUND TO CONFUSE NKOMO AS TO OUR REAL INTENTIONS. MOREOVER, WE SAID WE THOUGHT WE HAD AGREED ON A LINE TO THE RHODESIANS THAT WE COULD NOT ENDORSE ANY NKOMO-SMITH MEETING OUTSIDE THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS. WE UNDERSTAND THE MESSAGE HAS ALREADY BEEN SENT TO SALISBURY, BUT WE LEFT GRAHAM IN LITTLE DOUBT ABOUT OUR VIEW THAT THIS WAS NOT ACCORDING TO OUR AGREEMENT.

3. GRAHAM SAID A CALLAGHAN-MACHEL LETTER IS IN PREPARATION. MESSAGES WILL ALSO BE CONVEYED TO MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE ASKING THAT THEY SEND ONE OF THEIR DEPUTIES TO BLANTYRE OR JOHANNESBURG TO BE CONFIDENTIAL

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BRIEFED ON OUR FORTHCOMING MEETING IN MALTA. WE AGREED THAT INSTRUCTIONS SHOULD REITERATE OUR INTENTION TO PURSUE OUR PROPOSAL, SEEKING AN AGREED ARRANGEMENT FOR THE INTERIM PERIOD BUT THAT WE WOULD CONTINUE TO INSIST ON FREE AND IMPARTIAL ELECTIONS WITH CONTROL IN THE HANDS OF THE BRITISH. GRAHAM RESISTED AS PREMATURE OUR SUGGESTION THAT WE ALSO SAY THAT WE AGREED TO MAKE PROGRESS IN OUR DISCUSSIONS AND WOULD WANT TO CONSULT WITH THEM ON THESE MATTERS. WE AGREED THAT SINCE THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS ARE WELL AWARE OF THE PURPOSES OF OUR SEEING THE PF IT WOULD BE MORE EFFECTIVE TO SEND GUIDANCE TO FRONTLINE CAPITALS (AND LAGOS) TO BE USED IN GOVERNMENT CONTACTS RATHER THAN INSTRUCTIONS FOR AN AMBASSADORIAL DEMARCHE.

4. IN THE DISCUSSION ON PAPERS, GRAHAM SAID HE BELIEVED WE HAD AGREED WITH OWEN THAT THE CENTERPIECE OF A PUBLISHABLE PACKAGE OF PROPOSALS SHOULD BE A CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. WE ARGUED THAT THE CENTERPIECE SHOULD BE A STRAIGHTFORWARD SUMMARY OF THE PROPOSALS WITH

ANNEXES OF ALL THE RELEVANT DOCUMENTS - THE ORIGINAL

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-----062404 191833Z /53

O P 191816Z JAN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2207  
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY  
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AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 01031

EXDIS

WHITE PAPER, THE ELABORATED CONSTITUTION, THE TRANSI-  
TION PAPER, THE CREATION OF THE ZNA, THE CEASE-FIRE  
ARRANGEMENTS, AND ILLUSTRATIVE PIECES ON THE UN  
FORCE AND UN POLICE OBSERVERS.

5. GRAHAM RECOGNIZED THAT A NARRATIVE, NO MATTER HOW  
OBJECTIVELY STATED, WOULD INEVITABLY PROVE CONTEN-  
TIOUS AND OVERSHADOW THE PROPOSALS AS A WHOLE. STILL,  
HE FELT THERE WAS NO POINT IN REPEATING WHAT WAS  
ALREADY CONTAINED IN THE WHITE PAPER. WE ARGUED  
THAT THE WHITE PAPER WAS INTENDED AS A DOCUMENT FOR  
NEGOTIATIONS WHILE THIS NEW SET OF DOCUMENTS SHOULD  
BE REGARDED AS THE COMPLETED PRODUCT. IN THE END,  
GRAHAM SUGGESTED AN INTRODUCTORY PAPER WHICH WOULD  
DRAW ATTENTION TO THE CHANGES AND NEW ELEMENTS OF  
OUR PROPOSALS. THIS IDEA SOUNDED MORE LIKE WHAT  
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WE HAVE IN MIND. GRAHAM CAME AROUND TO AGREE TO A DESCRIPTIVE INTRODUCTION TO A LARGER "NARRATIVE BUT PROPOSED THAT WE DISCUSS THE MATTER AGAIN AFTER LOOKING AT THE DRAFT WHICH THE FCO HOPES TO HAVE COMPLETE BY FRIDAY EVENING.

6. THE FCO IS PREPARING A JOINT POSITION PAPER ON TRANSITIONAL COUNCILS ETC. FOR USE BEFORE MALTA. GRAHAM SAID THIS MIGHT ALSO SERVE AS THE ANNEX IN THE PUBLISHABLE PACKAGE BUT WE EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE PAPER WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO BE REVISED SUBSTANTIALLY IN THE WAKE OF MALTA.

BREWSTER

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## Message Attributes

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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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